

May 11, 1965

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

9791

the nature of our commitment in the Dominican Republic:

Our goal in the Dominican Republic is the goal which has been expressed again and again in the treaties and agreements which make up the fabric of the inter-American system. It is that the people of that country must be permitted to freely choose the path of political democracy, social justice and economic progress.

The action of the President can in no way be interpreted as a return to "gunboat diplomacy." The primary reason for sending in marines was to protect American lives when law and order completely broke down in that war-torn country, and when officials of the Dominican Republic informed the United States authorities that they could no longer insure the safety of Americans.

The marines were protecting both the lives of Americans and the lives of thousands of citizens of the Dominican Republic and of citizens of European and other Latin American republics, which were made safe because of the action of President Johnson.

Furthermore, all Americans and the citizens of all other countries should be reassured that the United States is not interfering in foreign internal politics or taking sides with any of the factions in the Dominican Republic uprising. Our sole purpose is to protect human lives and to insure that the cancer of communism does not gain another foothold in our own backyard.

The United States has announced and demonstrated its good intentions in the Dominican Republic by providing food for the hungry and medical supplies and treatment for the sick and the wounded in that troubled area.

Surely, for these reasons, all freedom-loving people of Latin America who yearn for the decency and dignity of democracy will join President Johnson in his hope that shooting and bloodshed will cease and that a stable government will be instituted in the Dominican Republic.

It has been a source of pride for me to see the response from the editors of our Nation's newspapers to the President's actions in Latin America. Eugene Patterson, the Atlanta Constitution, and the outstanding editorial department of that newspaper have been in the forefront of informed news analysis. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record three of the informative editorials which have been published in the Atlanta Constitution.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Atlanta Constitution, May 1, 1965]

#### GIVE UP WHAT IN VIETNAM?

(By Eugene Patterson)

My difference with the quit-in-Vietnam wing of U.S. liberalism is a deep one because I believe they are advocating—without meaning to, which makes it worse—that this Nation quit on liberalism. The sword they demand be surrendered is their own.

In varying degrees of anguish or triumph these good people write to tell me the Vietcong is winning thus far, which is true, that President Johnson ought to negotiate an end to the war, which they do not seem to recognize is the very thing he is trying to do, and that the United States is just plain

wrong in Vietnam, anyway, which is an incredible irony, coming from them.

For it will be peace-seeking idealism, not hotspur jingoism, that will lose if the United States loses in Vietnam.

This country had its taste of the dangers and failures of Dulles-Radford brinkmanship based on a politics of status quo and threats of massive nuclear war. Then liberalism especially was cheered when President Kennedy and President Johnson tried to limit the nuclear danger by developing the option of limited war.

Failure in Vietnam will mean the failure of that option, rekindling all the dangers inherent in a resurgence of the bomb-Moscow mentality.

Civic action, counterinsurgency, grassroots aid, U.S. special forces—these were Mr. Kennedy's bright new hopes for prevailing against communism's small "wars of liberation" on the home ground without having to pulverize Peiping.

The bomber wing at the Pentagon never did much approve. The new tactics were based on helping the people we were to defend; on creating political and economic systems that were to be better for them than any other; on teaching national armies to become the friends and helpers of their own peoples, and not just instruments of authority or tools of feudalism. It was to be an historic experiment, based on the codes of military honor, to humanize the soldiery, to use the plowshare as well as the gun, to repel the guerrilla aggressor by winning the people to something better.

In short, it was to be an experiment in idealism, a search for a positive pro-people program as an alternative to a negative anti-communism frozen in the nuclear syndrome.

Naive, gullible, infantile—all these adjectives have fitted mistakes made during the tryout of this new kind of war in Vietnam. But one would have expected to hear them come from the big-war believers in nuclear force, and not from the wing of political thought that advocates more idealistic social and economic reform and less blind reliance on the bomb.

Yet now that the going has gotten rough, and mistakes have mounted, and success has not come conveniently within sight—and indeed, may not—the demand that we give up comes first and loudest from the very people who ought to stay longest and fight hardest.

With no illusions at all about the many failures our experiment in idealism has suffered in Vietnam, I'll say, thanks. War is with us. I am proud my country has tried—whether it fails or not, has tried—to learn limited war based on creation of needed reforms, as an alternative to unlimited war based on unfeeling power. Those are, I am afraid, the untidy alternates.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution,  
May 1, 1965]

#### SWIFT U.S. ACTION IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC WAS NECESSARY; IT'S NOW UP TO OAS

Vietnam is not the only trouble spot for the United States and its long-range goal of world peace. Our awesome power, which has prevented a major conflagration, has not prevented those frustrations of nationalist revolutions, rivalries and clashes between states and the ever-present threat of a major explosion.

We're now involved in the Dominican Republic, the Caribbean island country, which is in the throes of a violent revolution. An undisclosed number of Marines and airborne troops have landed on the island, presumably to protect Americans until such time as they can be evacuated. Estimates of the number of troops already involved range up to 5,000, indicating our ability to move swiftly and perhaps decisively in what obviously has been determined in Washington to be an

#### PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ACTION IN REGARD TO THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, once again all Americans have every reason to be proud of the President of the United States for the swift and decisive manner in which he has exercised his position as leader of the free world.

The President's determination to resist communistic aggression, wherever it may exist, and especially in the Western Hemisphere, was never more clear than in his swift action to aid in the perilous situation last week in the Dominican Republic.

While the United States and the President may receive some criticism in the world community, and even within the boundaries of our own Nation, I, for one, want to go on record as affirming my confidence in his action and my pride in his leadership. As President Johnson said time and time again, the United States desires to extend its control over no other nation and no other territory. We merely desire to insure that any country which wishes to do so, may freely choose its own form of government, without outside interference.

Anyone who has doubts about the intentions of the United States need only reflect upon the words of President Johnson in his address to the Nation on

MORI/CDF Page 1

9792

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

May 11, 1965

attempted repetition of Castro's Communist takeover in Cuba.

Already there are outraged voices from some of the members of the Organization of American States. Memories of the old cry, "the Marines are landed," have aroused lingering suspicions of the giant from the north. Faced with the necessity of a quick decision to protect American nationals, President Johnson had no time to consult OAS members. If at the same time he was following the Kennedy doctrine that this country will not tolerate Communist takeovers of any more Latin republics, he has acted in our own and the hemisphere's interests.

The President disclaims any intent of occupying the Dominican Republic. But the presence of American troops will tend to act as a brake on violence, permitting the OAS to move in as intermediary in the absence of an organized government. If necessary, our presence will prevent a Communist takeover, Castro-style, which no Latin country wants.

The Dominican Republic, after its many years of dictatorial rule by Trujillo, faces a long and tortuous road to democracy. After his years of cruel dictatorship, the door to an even more cruel dictatorship of the left has been left open. That is the vacuum into which the United States has been forced to move and the OAS should lend its support. The main concern now is to establish a reasonable government so that the marines can leave.

[From the Atlanta Constitution, Apr. 30, 1965]

THE JOHNSON BRAND  
(By Eugene Patterson)

WASHINGTON.—Disparaged often as a merely political animal, President Johnson likes to point earnestly and a little sensitively to the character of his appointees.

The Johnson cadre now taking full form can hardly be called partisan, he points out. He adds that he simply sent for the best men, that none among them asked him for the job they got.

This President has, in truth, gone about staffing the Government in unique ways. For his principal talentscout he did not choose a political adviser but a civil service professional, John Macy. Macy does operate loosely through the politically knowledgeable White House staff, but they report back to him and he recommends to the President. Their telephone inquiries cover the country and final selections are made from long lists of carefully weighed possibilities.

The faces fit no set forms. Nicholas Katzenbach, an abrupt and intense intellectual, and John Doar, a ruggedly reticent John Wayne type, were considered Kennedy men (even though Doar joined the Justice Department under Ike). But Mr. Johnson chose them for his own, on merit, as Attorney General and chief of Justice's civil rights division respectively.

Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler is small and silver haired, soft spoken and pleasant—a southerner. ("You fellows have a dynamic base down there in Atlanta," he says.) But the steel shows in his eyes, his mind is quick and his word is firm. He may work some quiet surprises.

Secretary of Commerce Conner is a strong man in a post that has not always been strongly filled. He has differed in the past and still does with some L.B.J. policies. A maverick and a man of action, he has about him a tough vitality that you sense in the top businessmen. He stopped for lunch in Atlanta a couple of years ago, when he was head of the Merck pharmaceutical empire, and I remember him then expressing some reservations about medicare. But not blind ones. He felt industrial retirement plans had created the inadequacy of medical care

for the elderly masses, and he was searching his mind for some positive way whereby private employers might fill the gap before Government did.

Of the new Johnson crop, one of the most impressive is Adm. W. F. (Red) Raborn, Jr., who was sworn in Wednesday as chief of the CIA. Sandy haired and weatherbeaten, Raborn is a hardfisted administrator who demands the impossible. In developing the Polaris submarine missile years ahead of schedule, he got it. But he laughs off compliments about that. "I know what they mean when they call me the father of Polaris," he smiles. "They know how little the father has to do with the baby—and they know it's somebody else who really has to get the job done."

Raborn recalls with pleasure, incidentally, a recent trip to Callaway Gardens in Georgia. He says he has been a great admirer of Georgia Representative HOWARD (Bo) CALLAWAY since the Congressman let him fish his well-stocked bass pond.